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## Significant Dates ▶

### NOV.

- 26 Women's Internat. Democratic Fed. (WIDF -- Communist) 20th anniversary.
- 29 Yugoslavia proclaimed People's Republic. 1945. 20th anniversary.

### DEC.

- 8 Republic of China establishes seat of government at Taipei, Taiwan; leaves mainland in Communist hands. 1949.
- 8 5th Congress, International Federation of Resistance Movements (FIR), Budapest, 8-12 December (Communist).
- 10 UN General Assembly adopts, 48-0, Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Soviet Bloc abstains. 1948.
- 14 USSR expelled from League of Nations for unprovoked aggression against Poland and Finland. 1939.
- 15 US Bill of Rights (First Ten Amendments to Constitution) declared ratified. (174 years of progressive democracy). 1791.
- 16 Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev form ruling triumvirate ("troika") when second stroke ends Lenin's public career. 1922.
- 18 Lavrenti Beria tried and executed. (18-23 Nov.) 1953.
- 19 Vietminh attack on French at Haiphong begins 7 1/2 year war. 1946.
- 19 Cuban-Soviet joint communique openly aligns Cuba with USSR's domestic and foreign policies. 1960.
- 20 Council of People's Commissars creates Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counter-Revolution (CHEKA), secret police; forerunner of GPU (State Political Administration formed 8 February 1922), OGPU, NKVD and MVD.
- 20 UN makes second call on CPR for Tibetan freedom. 1953.
- 21 Joseph V. Stalin born. 1879. (Dies 5 March 1953)
- 23 Inter-American Conference for Maintenance of Peace (1-23 Dec.) signs Treaty for Preservation of Peace. 1936.
- 26 Mao Tse-tung born. 1893.
- 27 Netherlands transfers sovereignty to interim Republic of United Provinces of Indonesia. 1949.
- 29 15th Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 29 December - 4 January.

### JAN.

- 6 Afro-Asian Latin American Conference (Tri-Continent Conference), Havana, beginning 6 January, sponsored by the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization (Communist controlled).


#65

**Commentary**

13-26 October 1965

Principal Developments:

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1.   
this period cites a CPSU emissary as declaring to a closely aligned Western CP that Chinese dogmatism must be combatted as an "aggressive danger" not only to unity of the WCM but to world peace itself: China is attempting to precipitate a world war in which the USA and USSR will destroy each other and leave China on top.
2. Simultaneously, the U.S. Embassy Moscow cites "striking" evidence of "increasing Soviet willingness to air dispute with Chinese, both in public and private," in a series of recent developments, including:
  - a. Brezhnev-Kosygin remarks to visiting Danish Prime Minister Krag "went further than any such statement we have seen by responsible Soviet leaders";
  - b. Omission of reference to "eternal friendship and cooperation" between Soviet and Chinese people from slogans for October Revolution holiday (see Chrono, Oct. 24);
  - c. Revelation in Soviet press of Chinese/Albanian "slander and attacks" against Soviets at Warsaw WFTU Congress (Chrono, Oct. 8-22);
  - d. Extensive treatment in Soviet press of Prague meeting commemorating 30th anniversary of Seventh Comintern Congress which has stronger anti-Chinese flavor than Moscow's meeting on the same subject, earlier in the month.
3. The Soviets suddenly cancel their invitation to Cambodian Prince Sihanouk to visit Moscow during the forthcoming 7 November October Revolution holiday on the grounds that the leaders would be "too busy" to see him: they deliver the blow while Sihanouk is in Pyongyang after having been involved in the strongly anti-Soviet Chinese celebration of the CPR's 16th anniversary (#64), which leads to assumption by most that the cancellation is a reprisal. However, the Italian Communist correspondent for L'Unita in Moscow speculates that the invitation was canceled because the CPSU decided to convene an urgent Communist summit meeting in Moscow to bolster unity and coordinate action to cope with the new situation in Asia. In a remarkably candid speech in Phnom Penh, Sihanouk describes the anti-Soviet treatment to which the Chinese subjected him during his Peking visit.

4. Indonesia becomes a new open issue in the Sino-Soviet conflict. The Chinese, giving unqualified support to the PKI and, to the "30 September Movement" with its story of trying to save the country from a CIA-supported "Council of Generals," openly attack the Indonesian Army and "rightwing forces" now ruling the country in a series of official notes, authorized statements and press comments. They also criticize Soviet media treatment of events. The Soviets, while expressing serious concern at the continuing reprisals against Communists, implicitly acknowledge that "some Communists" might have been involved in the original coup attempt and dissociate themselves from the Chinese-oriented PKI leadership.

5. In a bitter, all-out political fight, the Chinese succeed in forcing a last-minute (1 Nov.) indefinite postponement of the Second Afro-Asian Conference scheduled for 5 November in Algiers. In the process, they accuse the Algerians of distortion and trying to impose their own will on others. Foremost supporters of the Chinese campaign are recently rewarded Cambodia and Pakistan, while N. Vietnam, N. Korea, Tanzania, Mali and Guinea also push for postponement for various reasons of their own. The turning point apparently comes as the Indonesians drop their insistence on following the original schedule. (Detailed coverage will follow.)

6. The 2-week WFTU Congress in Warsaw is characterized by continuous acrimonious clashes between Soviet and Chinese forces, and further development of independent tendencies among the European elements. The "voting machine" (as the Chinese call it) adopts resolutions somewhat more "liberal" than in previous years, -- and the North Korean and North Vietnamese, who had voted with the Chinese last year, now abstain, leaving only the Albanians, the Indonesians, and a few Africans to avert total Chinese isolation. (Detailed round-up will be forthcoming.)

7. There is a series of further suddenly called bilateral high-level meetings on unannounced subjects among Soviet-oriented ruling parties: Brezhnev to Prague; Gromyko to Cuba and East Germany; and Zhivkov to Bucharest and Moscow.

8. The Yugoslavs again produce the pithiest Communist criticism of the Chinese: a 24 October Kristl article in Zagreb Vjesnik -- "The Great Leap Backward."

#### Significance:

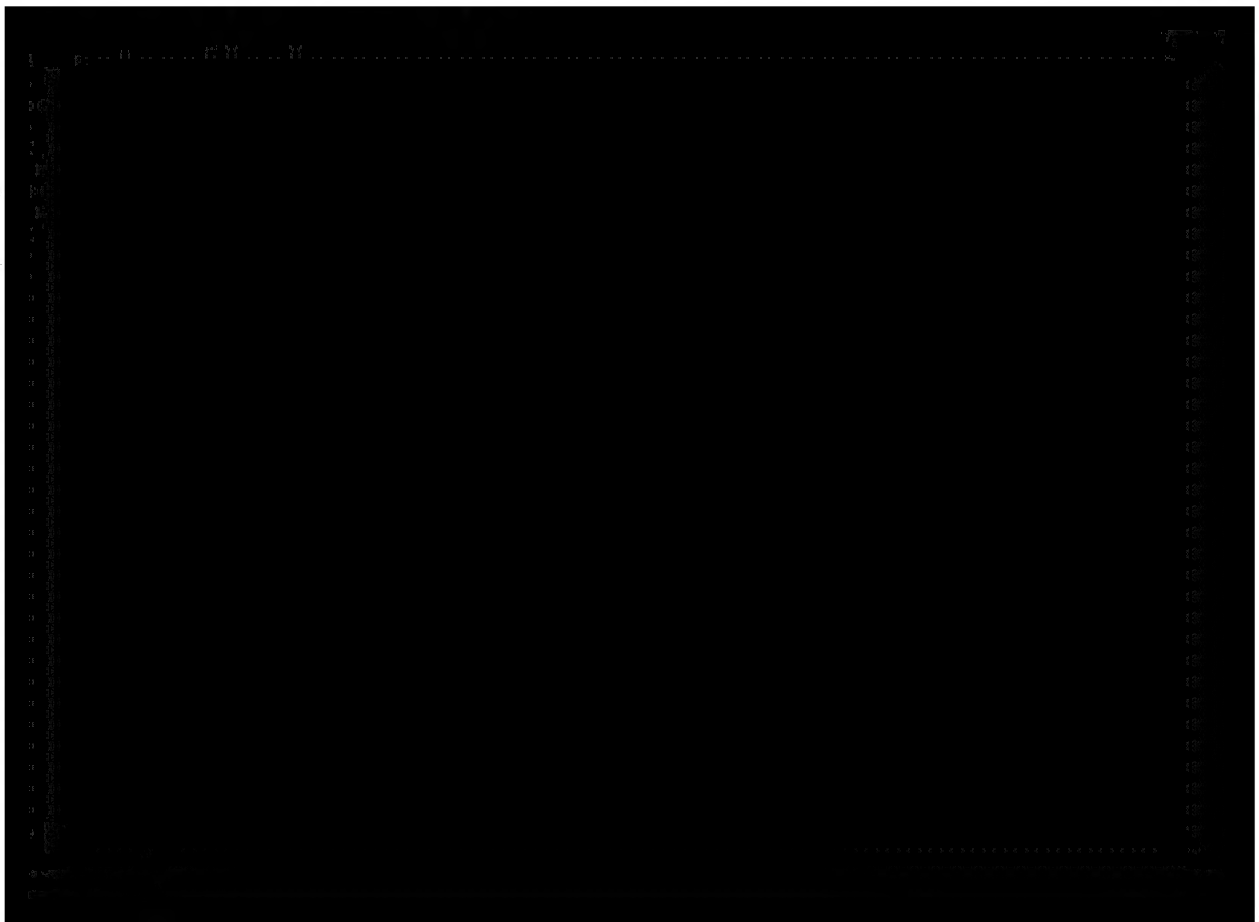
Much of the evidence outlined above can be interpreted as forecasting a Soviet decision to launch a new phase of more determined and open action against the Chinese on the grounds that Peking has exceeded the bounds of ideological opposition and now threatens not only the WCM but world peace itself. It may be that a Moscow summit meeting of Soviet-sympathizing parties in conjunction with the 7 November holiday will formally launch this new phase. However, we would note that:

- a. The evidence is still far from conclusive.

b. It is unlikely that the present Moscow Leaders will return, even partly, to the shoot-from-the-hip type of polemical warfare Khrushchev indulged in. If there is any noticeable change in Soviet tactics, we would anticipate only a slightly increased aggressiveness, evident more in political activity than in polemics.

In any case, it now seems clear that the Chinese are suffering some significant setbacks in the very field on which they chose to do battle: the Afro-Asian-Latin American complex. There is not yet any indication that the Chicom leaders are learning their lessons: on the contrary, outbursts like those of Lin Piao and Chen Yi and the Chicom posture in the Indonesian crisis indicate a further hardening of their ultra-aggressive line. The question remains whether these Chinese blunders can be utilized by the Soviets and other CPs for their own gain or to what extent all this will (or can be made to) produce a general weakening of Communist influence in the developing areas.

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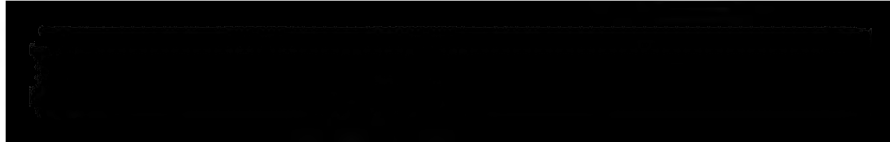
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961.

NEW CRACKS IN THE  
WORLD COMMUNIST LABOR FRONT:

The Warsaw WFTU Congress

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\* \* \* \* \*

SITUATION: The proceedings of the Sixth Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) show how the Soviets find it increasingly difficult to maintain control of the policy and administration of this most significant of all international Communist front organizations. The divergent views of the dissenting Communist blocs were repeated over and over again in both the open and closed sessions held in Warsaw, Poland from 8 to 22 October. The Chicoms, Albanians and Indonesians led those fighting the "revisionist" policy and program proposed in Secretary General Saillant's report. They took issue with both the report's adherence to the tenets of Soviet foreign policy and its response to the demands of the proponents of polycentrism. However, the Soviet willingness to compromise in favor of the latter group did not extend to all the concessions demanded by its spokesman, the Italian CGIL (Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro). Further, positions expressed by many delegates, notably the Yugoslavs, Rumanians and even the hitherto quiescent Poles and French, suggest that backing for the CGIL platform is growing stronger.

Three groups: their positions

The Chicom group wants no accommodation with the West and feels trade unions in non-Communist countries should be instruments of the centralized Communist organization, WFTU. They reject Soviet reliance on the principle of peaceful coexistence, asserting there can be no coexistence with capitalism. They maintain that revolutionary change and class struggle must be the only basis for a unified struggle against capitalism and its offspring, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Labor unions must be used to foment revolution both in the West and the underdeveloped areas. In sum, as the Indonesian delegate bluntly stated, they subordinated tactic to strategy.

The Soviets, on the other hand, favor using a more flexible tactical approach ("united front" or "Trojan horse"). They are working for increased contact and cooperation between WFTU and other (non-Communist) international labor organizations and call for the development of regional labor organizations: ostensibly, because labor in different areas of the

world faces different problems; in reality, because the old approach to the labor target has become increasingly unproductive. However, they are not willing to relinquish their control of international Communist labor which is maintained through the current WFTU organizational structure. They also continue to use WFTU organs as forums for Soviet foreign policy and to expound the economic successes of bloc Socialism.

The Italian-led bloc wants more independent action for national trade unions and more regional autonomy. This would mean freedom to devote greater attention to their own interests, most important of these on the regional level, working within the context of the European Economic Community (EEC). They would also deal more intensively with the special needs of labor and labor unions, in other words a divorce from the preoccupation with world politics and a recognition that Socialism as it operates in the Communist bloc (principally the Soviet Union) may not offer the only or the best solutions for workers in other parts of the world. They also want a reorganization of WFTU itself, that would implement their position on the highest levels of international Communist organization in the labor field.

#### Mainifestations of the three-way split at the Congress

The program for WFTU collaboration with non-Communist labor and WFTU's position toward labor in capitalist and underdeveloped countries represents a Soviet compromise in favor of the Italian bloc (see Unclassified Attachment). The Soviets bowed to polycentrism saying individual differences can exist, but all cannot be incorporated in the WFTU program. In Congress discussions Korea and Indonesia opposed the program; Rumania said it would abstain from voting. The vote endorsed the Soviet position but was not unanimous.

The Chicoms opposed also the solidarity or unity appeal, called for acceptance of the unanimity rule in Congress voting and were against the resolution on WFTU finances, which undoubtedly means they will continue to abstain from contributing to the WFTU coffers. Last year the Chicoms received blanket backing from their traditional bloc of supporters. This year North Vietnam (DRV) and North Korea seemed to shift away from the Chicoms. In this context, it is also noteworthy that the DRV and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam acknowledged Soviet support in Vietnam.

The Soviets with support from Saillant and the Polish trade union head Loga-Sowinski chastised the Chicoms by stating that constructive differences are acceptable but extremist sectarian stands are not. The Chilean and Argentine delegates were conspicuous among those following this line. Soviet delegate Pimenov's comment on 21 October characterized the Soviet refusal to be baited. He said that Soviets would not follow the Chicom example of open polemics. However, on the final day the



Soviets abandoned this position when they entered into verbal name calling with the Albanians, each labeling the other "hooligans." A sharp exchange between Indian trade union leader, Dange, and a Chicom delegate further increased the polemics on the final day. During the course of the Congress Soviet and Polish media played down the dispute but finally admitted it. In contrast Unita (Italian Communist Party organ), Rumanian, Albanian, Czech and Chicom coverage was far more frank.

The latter group does not share the same motivation for revealing this recent example of the Sino-Soviet argument. The Chicoms refuse to cover up their quarrel with the Soviets realizing that this would be tantamount to capitulating to the Soviet position. The polycentrists, who agree with neither the Soviets nor the Chicoms, publicize the Chicom point of view because to do so increases the Soviet discomfiture:

Peking's refusal to heed Moscow's demands lends courage to others who desire to assert their opinions. Their positions are certainly no more acceptable to Peking than the Soviet line; for example, when delegates such as the Rumanians or Venezuelans found themselves with the Chicoms in opposition to the majority, it was not because they shared the Chicom premise.

The more Peking appears at odds with Moscow the greater Moscow's need to curry favor in other sectors of the Communist camp, likewise the better the polycentrists' chances of obtaining concessions from the Soviets. There can be little question that the Soviets' performance at this congress leaves the polycentrists with every reason to exploit all ways of applying pressure and suing for change.

On the problem of WFTU organization, the Soviets again postponed a vote on the WFTU statute, obviously unwilling to give up tight organizational control; likewise the composition of the slate of new WFTU officers suggests that the Soviets will be able to continue to run the show much according to their own dictates. They also continued to contrast the progress of the Socialist bloc and intra-Bloc cooperation (CEMA) with the alleged economic stagnation of capitalism which they say remains a slave to the profit motive. They focused on schisms in EEC and competition between EEC and other "monopoly" capitalists, notably the U.S. In the trade union sphere they cited ICFTU (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions) failures, particularly in Latin America. To the polycentrists in and outside the Bloc this continuation of the old line must appear somewhat in conflict with the new WFTU program, and certainly the maintenance of the myth of a single model of Socialism must irritate them.

The Soviets have not abandoned their excessive preoccupation with political matters as an examination of the content of the final appeal will verify (see Unclassified Attachment). As has become customary at front gatherings, they emphasized U.S. imperialism principally in Vietnam in order

to achieve a kind of artificial unity. In this case, the consensus looked even more contrived since they resorted to linking U.S. actions with West German revanchism, trying to benefit from widespread legitimate denunciation of World War II Nazi atrocities. Although passage of the resolution condemning imperialism (e.g., U.S. in Vietnam, Cuba, the Dominican Republic; South Africa, West Germany, and others) was the only show of unanimity attained on any important issue, it is noteworthy that the Yugoslavs, the Rumanians and Italians were absent from the opening exhibition on Vietnam; the speech of the Rumanian delegate did not mention Vietnam; Yugoslav trade union president Vukmanovic was restrained compared with the congress norm.

The chorus of bloc and non-Bloc delegates taking exception to the standardized Soviet approach was subtle but highly provocative:

The Poles' Loga-Sowinski criticized WFTU's concentration on political affairs to the detriment of genuine trade union work. He cited a recent meeting of the international fisherman's affiliate as a case in point. The Poles also expressed dislike of the concept of WFTU as one centralized organization.

An international conference of all world trade unions and a new trade union organization were proposed by several speakers, notable the Yugoslavs.

The Italian CGIL announced during the Congress that there was a split within its membership on whether to stay in WFTU.

The Rumanians protested the use of the majority rule. They felt that, if unanimity were attained in all matters, WFTU would be prohibited from engaging in certain activities without the consent of all members, and the equal rights of all members would be ensured. They also rather obliquely inferred that WFTU did not seem to be accomplishing anything very tangible where it should be doing so, presumably in the area of trade union activity.

At the end of the conference, even the French CGT (Confederation Generale du Travail) seemed to have moved closer to the Italian position. The Congress welcomed an agreement between the CGT and the CGIL that would give fresh impetus to the development of unity among the working masses of the Common Market countries.

(In addition to material already specifically mentioned, see Unclassified Attachment for quotes that will further embellish the position of a specific delegation; basic statistics on attendance; slate of new officers.)

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AFRO-ASIAN-LATIN AMERICAN  
PEOPLES SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE



SITUATION: The Communist-dominated Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) is now attempting to establish stronger links with Latin America. AAPSO's Fourth Conference in Winneba, Ghana (10-16 May, 1965) decided in principle that a three-continent conference should be held in Havana, Cuba in January 1966. This decision was disputed between Soviets and Chicoms. The next (fifth) AAPSO plenary will be held in Peking in 1967 -- which means that, at least for the moment, AAPSO seeks to create a Latin American adjunct rather than a full extension and fundamental change of its total structure.\*

The Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity Conference, now scheduled to convene in Havana 3-10 January 1966, has been mentioned favorably by Moscow in connection with the 1-2 September meeting of the preparatory committee, chaired by the exiled Moroccan Communist Mehdi Ben Barka, in Cairo, where AAPSO is headquartered. Cuba expresses pleasure at the prospect of the Conference: the Cuban education minister, appointed national preparatory committee chairman, called the prospective conference a "historical accomplishment of prime importance." The Conference will coincide with the celebration of the seventh anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

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\*The subject of a three-continent conference kept recurring at AAPSO meetings since December 1961. The third AAPSO Conference, held in February 1963 in Moshi, Tanganyika, had endorsed the idea in a resolution. Moscow at the time showed little enthusiasm at the prospect, while Cuba expressed delight and Peking accused those who did not "dare oppose imperialism" of trying to undermine the proposed conference. The Soviet and Chicom positions are somewhat reversed today: some interpreters felt that, at Winneba, the Soviets sought to have the Havana meeting replace what would normally be the next AAPSO Conference in an effort to minimize Chicom influence in AAPSO.

The preparatory committee's resolution states that the final list of Conference members will be established by the preparatory committee Chairman (Ben Barka) and the AAPSO Secretary General (Youssef El Sebai, Egypt) in consultation with the AAPSO secretariat for the representatives of Africa and Asia, and with the six representatives from Latin America on the Committee\* for the American continent. The resolution also says that the Chairman and Secretary General would transmit to the organizations concerned all suggestions which would help them to fulfill their respective missions; invitations are to be dispatched under the responsibility of the Chairman, the Secretary General and the host country. A report on the invitation question will be submitted to the preparatory committee during its forthcoming meeting in Havana before the Conference.

The difficulty of selecting organizations to attend the non-governmental conference was acknowledged by Ben Barka during a visit to Cuba. Havana reported him at the end of September as saying that he would shortly send invitations to "nations" which should send the "most representative and popular" delegations. According to Ben Barka, "nations" invited should be represented by a delegation of five, and "organizations" invited must be consistently anti-imperialist and should set aside any differences among themselves; where several anti-imperialist organizations exist, national committees should be formed to select delegations.

Reportedly, some 100 nations will attend as well as 50 "observer delegations" (A list of observer delegations which attended the Winneba AAPSO Conference is contained in an Attachment). Efforts to achieve unity at the national level before the Conference are likely to run into roadblocks over the question of which revolutionary movements will be represented as "official delegations."

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\*Latin American "countries" represented on the preparatory committee are: Cuba -- represented by a member of its ruling party; Chile -- by the Frente de Accion Popular (FRAP), the left-wing but legal united front defeated in the last Chilean presidential elections; Guatemala -- by the guerrillas of the Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes (which started life as a front of three movements believing in violence); Mexico -- represented by the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (a faction-ridden organization which incorporates Communists and other militant left-wingers including followers of General Lazaro Cardenas); Uruguay -- the Frente Izquierda de Liberacion (a legal Communist-dominated electoral front); and Venezuela -- the Frente de Liberacion Nacional (the political organization corresponding to the communist guerrilla movement, and linking the CP with the militant Leftist Revolutionary Movement -- MIR).

The representation issue was raised at the Cairo meeting when the Chicoms objected to some of the (pro-Moscow) Latin American groups Cuba proposed. The furor over invitations seems to have led to the potentially explosive decision that it would be left to the revolutionary groups in each Latin American country to decide who should represent them in Havana. This leaves the fractionalized Latin American Communist and pro-Communist groups open to pressure from both Moscow and Peking. It also puts Cuba in the position of having the final say, since Cuba is the official host and must extend the formal invitations -- presumably therefore the Cubans will endorse those groups or parties favored by Moscow and thus further deteriorate their relations with the Chicoms.

The agenda (see Attachment) agreed upon in Cairo concentrates on attacks against "imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism," demands for greater economic rights for underdeveloped countries, and attempts to intensify "all forms" of the "revolutionary struggles" of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. While representational, procedural, and substantive factors will as in other fronts bring the Sino-Soviet conflict to the fore, the Conference organizers will focus on condemning the U. S. in every aspect of its foreign policy. (See Attachment, Appeal issued in Cairo)

In the four part agenda, the section dealing with economic, social and cultural solidarity proposals is most susceptible to Soviet exploitation and to Chinese counterattack. These Sino-Soviet roles may well be reversed in discussions on the sections dealing with liberation struggle and with such specific issues as Vietnam, Santo Domingo, and Palestine. The nuclear weapons issue, as a subheading under liberation struggle, is particularly likely to be controversial. But, on precedent, compromise resolutions of a clearly anti-American and militant character will probably be reached.

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8 November 1965

959.

COMMUNIST CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY;

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No Change in Sight



SITUATION: China's recklessness and bellicosity were dramatically - and authoritatively - illustrated in September 1965 by the widely publicized statements of China's Defense Minister Lin Piao (who claimed that peoples' wars in Africa, Asia and Latin America are the logical prelude to world-wide Communist revolution) and China's Foreign Minister Ch'en Yi (who invited the US, the British, Japanese, Indians - and even Soviet "puppet troops" to attack China tomorrow so that they could be thoroughly wiped out). These statements from men in high places are menacing and irresponsible, but they reveal nothing new despite the furor created in the world press. China's basic commitment to violence goes clear back to the birth of the Chinese Revolution when it was nurtured in the hardships endured by Mao and his hunted followers in the Yen-an Caves.

Violence pervades Communist China's view of the entire globe - she advocates starting revolutions where they can have only destructive results, (e.g., Congo (L), Burundi, Somalia, Indonesia); she will help to destroy any existing socio-political structure - including responsible, orderly government (e.g., Malaysia, Thailand) - to serve her own aims. There is no room in China's lexicon for peaceful coexistence (even as a means for subversive destruction of free countries); her only way is force of arms and violent subversion. Chou En-lai's ill-advised proposal to African leaders that "Africa is ripe for revolution" is the verbal counterpart to CCP actions.

Mao's infamous statement that there would still be 300 million Chinese left after a nuclear war perfectly embodies the quality of the concern this China feels for mankind. Mao's statement does something else - it points up once more Chinese ignorance of the meaning of modern warfare. Peking's insistence that the spiritual atom bomb (Mao's concepts plus the will of the people) will prevail, only highlights China's attempts to rationalize her failure to catch up on the nuclear front. This stress on the spiritual atom bomb will undoubtedly decrease in direct ratio to the number of successful nuclear tests China attempts. Talk of the spiritual atom bomb is deceptive in another fashion, too: for China's foreign policy is not spiritual in any sense of the word.



China's viwes on promoting revolution on a world scale, as most recently outlined by Lin Piao, offer food for thought for those interested in the welfare of their own countries as well as their own skins. It should be required reading for those who view recent CPR setbacks with any complacency. The much quoted quip, "China is willing to fight to the last Vietnamese" wryly illustrates that although China regularly asserts the need for sacrifice in war, she never specifies just who is going to make that sacrifice. It will certainly not be China in behalf of any of her so-called allies such as the North Vietnamese. Not only has China avoided making any direct commitment to join the war in Vietnam -- she has fought consistently against a negotiated settlement of the Vietnam conflict. A negotiated settlement could mean a cessation of death, pillage, bloodshed. This, according to her own doctrine, is not of interest to China.

The Chinese would like to bring about the same unsettled situations in other parts of the world so that they could exploit those they are "helping." Certainly the "help" China is giving Pakistan in the quarrel with India over Kashmir is no more than egging on Pakistan to act the monkey's paw for China. This Chinese "help" can only result in bringing confusion and bloodshed to the Indian subcontinent. Aidit had a right to expect but did not receive active Chicom help [beyond arms shipments] when the PKI attempted its coup against Sukarno.

#### References

Text of Lin Piao article was distributed as an unclassified attachment on 27 September 1965, #175, item 947.

Washington Post column by Evans and Novak, "Inside Report," 26 Oct 65 [unclassified attachment.]

#162, 29 March 1964, item 888: "Militarism: Basic Chicom Outlook" w/att

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# The student who suddenly went 'mad'

## AN OPEN LETTER TO THE KREMLIN

**L. I. Brezhnev**, First Secretary of the Communist Party.

**A. N. Kosygin**, Prime Minister of the Soviet Government.

**WE** appeal to you to put right a terrible injustice of which we have personal knowledge.

We have just returned from a student holiday in Russia. This was our second holiday in your country. The year before, when we also went with a student group, the official Soviet tourist organisation Sputnik attached to us a student interpreter named Eugene Belov. We called him Zhenya for short.

We spent a great deal of time arguing about politics with him. We are not very politically minded, but we do believe in the Western democratic way of life. Zhenya was very concerned about our political ignorance, and tried in every way to make us understand that communism was the best possible political system. When we pointed out to him various things in the Soviet Union that did not appear to bear this out, he was always ready with a strong counter-argument.

Often, although we knew we were right, his replies were so well argued that we just had to leave it at that. Zhenya was recognised by all his Soviet student friends to be the very model of a good Communist. Sometimes, when we got into a political argument with one of the other Russian students, and appeared to be winning, they would tell us: "Go to Zhenya, he will put you right."

### Communist ideal

Nor did our arguments cease when we came back to England. We continued to exchange letters with Zhenya, and he kept urging us to read the works of Marx and Lenin, to tell us what was wrong with Western policies, how noble was the Communist ideal, and how we really ought to speak to some British Communists who would help us to sort out our ideas. In our own letters we tried to reply to some of his arguments, but he was not to be shaken in his loyalty to communism.

When we returned to Moscow this summer, something had happened to Zhenya. He still believed himself to be a Communist, but he had also come to feel very strongly that certain things in the

Soviet Union had gone wrong, and ought to be put right.

He told us that after a great deal of thought and study of party history he had realised that the party had become a bureaucratic organisation representing only the interests of a ruling group. The party was supposed to be based on the principle of democratic centralism, but it was far too centralistic, and not democratic enough. The party's policies, he believed, should come from below instead of being imposed from above.

He told us that the system of proletarian dictatorship had been officially declared dead, and replaced by "the State of the whole people." However, in his view, these were empty words, for the people as a whole did not exercise power now any more than in the past. Moreover the machinery of the dictatorship was still being maintained and used to keep down those with dissenting views.

He believed that the party should be organised in such a way as to give expression to the true feelings and views of the people. He now thought that the press and radio were the creatures of a power clique, instead of being the free instruments of popular opinion. He wanted the trade unions to have real power to act on behalf of the workers. But he wanted all these changes to be accomplished constitutionally and legally by the Communist party itself, and believed that it was the duty of every true Communist to open the eyes of his comrades to the need for change.

He put some of these ideas forward at a meeting of his party organisation, at the Foreign Languages Institute in Moscow. He argued that, as the twenty-third Congress of the party was approaching, individual party organisations ought to start discussing these matters so that they might be taken up more authoritatively by the congress, which would be the proper forum for full discussion and for the taking of decisions.

However, the institute's party organisation immediately suspended him from membership, and instructed him to go before the Moscow City party committee where, he was told, "they will sort you out." He refused because, he told us, he knew that he would not get a fair hearing. Instead he wrote a letter to you, Mr Brezhnev, setting out his ideas and appealing to you to do something about them.

for the sake of the party and the country. He got no reply. He then wrote another letter to you, Mr Kosygin, making the same appeal, and adding that if he should again get no reply, he would feel bound as a Communist to try to obtain further publicity for his ideas. He proposed to do this by distributing to the embassies of the Communist countries in Moscow copies of his proposals.

At this point the four of us left Moscow to go on to Tokio for the rest of our holiday. When we returned, Zhenya was not at the airport to meet us, as he had promised. We went to his home, where we were told by the neighbours that Zhenya's parents and younger brother had been taken away by the police. They did not know what had happened to Zhenya, but we found this out later. Zhenya was due to be attached as an interpreter to another foreign tourist group, and was told to report for a medical examination prior to this. He did, and he was declared to have gone mad, and put away in a lunatic asylum.

### Not surprised

Sirs, we do not believe that Zhenya was mad when we knew him, and we cannot believe that he went mad during the few weeks we were away, without giving any prior indication to his friends that he was mentally troubled. In trying to find Zhenya in Moscow, we met a number of respectable Soviet citizens who were not at all surprised by our story. Some of them knew of cases when people who had become "politically unstable" were treated as if they were mentally unstable.

Zhenya is our friend, and our conscience does not allow us to remain silent. We will try to rouse the young people of England to press for his release. We will not rest until he is free again. If you care at all for the good name of the Soviet Union, for truth and justice, you will please make sure that he is released as soon as possible.

(signed)

Elizabeth Hoey, Queen's University, Belfast.

Susan Poole, ex Bedford College, London, of Pavenham, Bedfordshire.

Michael Beckley, ex Pembroke College, Oxford, of Gillingham, Reading.

Robert Dwyer, ex Borough Polytechnic, South London, of Sidcup, Kent.

## Zhenya Belov

A Russian student friend of four young British people who have just returned from a holiday in the Soviet Union has been put in a Russian lunatic asylum for expressing unorthodox political opinions—that the Communist Party ought to be more democratic and that there must be freedom of the press and of trade unions in Russia.

The young British people, whose circumstantial account of the affair is given in their open letter to the Kremlin on page 12, are launching a national campaign to secure the release of their friend, Zhenya Belov. Previous reports of this kind of thing in Russia were not always fully believed, but this time there is no room for doubt.

The four ask all those who are horrified and distressed by the fate of Zhenya Belov to join them in their campaign.

**Z**HENYA knew he was playing with fire and even told us he thought he might be arrested, but this did not deter him because he believed he was doing the right thing.

He said that, as he was not married, no-one else would suffer if he got into trouble with the authorities.

He certainly did not think that the police would take it out on his parents and younger brother. It may well be that when Zhenya was taken away they kicked up so much fuss that the police decided to take them away too.

When we drove up to their house in our search for Zhenya we were surrounded by excited neighbours who made it quite clear, with every appearance of sympathy, that the family had been taken away by the police. Our appeal is launched quite as much on behalf of Zhenya's family as of Zhenya himself.

He was one of the few Soviet students privileged to have travelled abroad—he served in Cuba as an interpreter in 1962-3, during the Cuban missile crisis. He greatly admires Dr Fidel Castro.

### Left-wing support

We hope that Communists and people on the far Left will take an especially active part in our campaign, because their pleas on behalf of Zhenya are likely to be more effective.

Ours is certainly not an anti-Soviet or anti-Communist campaign. The October Prisoner of the Month Appeal is also being made on behalf of two other prisoners associated with university youth—a professor in Chiang Kai-shek's Taiwan, imprisoned for encouraging free political discussion among his students, and an Algerian student leader, believed to be a Communist, imprisoned after the fall of Ben Bella.

This is in accordance with the policy of Amnesty International, designed to avoid political bias.

We hope that people who are so often stirred by political persecution in Right-wing dictatorships will also be moved by their conscience to try to help Zhenya Belov.

(Signed) MICHAEL BECKLEY.

**I**F I had read this story in a newspaper, I doubt if I would have done anything to help.

I might have thought that it was an anti-Communist propaganda stunt, or that the facts were none too clear, or that it did not concern me personally. The fact is, I have heard vaguely about things like this before but I have never really quite believed that they could happen.

I have been only moderately interested in politics. I have just graduated in philosophy at Bedford College, London, and much of my correspondence with Zhenya was about what he described as materialism and idealism—materialism had all the answers, and idealism was a dirty word to describe what most of us in the West believe in.

But Zhenya was honest. He really did believe, passionately, that the materialistic view of history was the only correct one, and that Communists had a mission to make all others think as they themselves thought.

He has a very sharp intellect, and at the same time he is gay, warmhearted, kind, sensitive to the suffering of others. When he was talking about "the misdeeds of imperialism in the colonies" he was really concerned about the privations of the people in the under-developed countries.

But above all Zhenya is one of us, a young man in a difficult, complicated world who has tried hard to find the right answer. All he was looking for was truth. And then they put him away.

It makes me shudder to think of him locked up in a madhouse. This could indeed maim him for life. Try to imagine yourself in that position—alone against a mighty Power, with your whole life still before you, yet obliged to live out the rest of your days in a mental straitjacket.

Can you imagine yourself locked up in a madhouse because somebody did not like your views? Would you not want everybody to rally to your help if this happened? Should you not yourself do what little you can to help? If they let Zhenya out, he might well owe one thousandth part of his freedom to you. Write directly to the Kremlin, and write also to Amnesty International, so that we can tell you what else you can do to help.

(Signed) SUSAN POOLE.

8 November 1965

Excerpts from Novak and Evans' "Inside Report" Column  
of 26 October 1965 issue of The Washington Post

CPYRGHT

One small fact dramatizes the precipitous decline in Red China's international prestige today: Peking's sudden, almost hysterical about-face against going ahead with the second Afro-Asian conference now scheduled to begin in Algiers on Nov. 5.

Last summer when a coup d'etat threw out Ahmed Ben Bella as Algerian dictator, the Chinese were beside themselves not to let the coup force a postponement of the Afro-Asian conference. With the United States then under growing world pressure to end the war in Vietnam, Chinese Communists saw the conference as a "Hate U.S.A." field day. Red China lost, however. The conference was put off to November.

But what has happened now? Wherever the Chinese Communists still have political credit in the bank, they are frantically lobbying to postpone as long as possible the Nov. 5 conference. As one diplomat of a neutralist African nation told us: "The Chinese know that any anti-imperialist resolution coming out of the conference would hit them as well as you."

... The political ground already had been cut out from under Peking when an abortive coup d'etat, backed by local Communists, rocked Indonesia on Sept. 30. China's public conduct following the failure of the Indonesian coup has hardened resistance to Peking.

The Chinese have made no pretense of disinterest in Indonesian affairs. The stridency of Peking's reaction has amazed neutralist countries. A few days ago, for example, China sent off diplomatic notes angrily defending her insulting refusal to lower the Chinese flag to half-staff in Djakarta in memory of six Indonesian generals assassinated in the Sept. 30 coup attempt.

These events in Asia ... are far better known than a second, more subtle reason for China's pressure to postpone the Algiers conference: Peking's heavy-handed power politics in the newly independent African states.

China's African target is the east coast -- the part of Africa closest to Peking and f u r t h e s t from Moscow. Significant Chinese "diplomatic" and "cultural" missions have been planted in a dozen African countries, but their clandestine political activities have aroused the suspicions of one country after another.

(Cont.)

CPYRGHT

... In Burundi, it is commonly assumed by African politicians that China has been at least partially responsible for several violent efforts to overthrow the government. Even though the Chinese mission (inflated far beyond normal size) was expelled from Burundi early this year, the latest assassination attempt on the Prime Minister last week is linked by some to Chinese intrigue.

Underlying the rising apprehension over Chinese troublemaking was the red flag statement made in Tanzania by Foreign Minister Chou En-lai last June that "conditions in Africa are favorable for revolution."

"Chou scared the pants off every new African nationalist leader with those words," a U.S. specialist asserts. One month later, Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya kicked out the New China News Agency, which was operating as a front for Chinese espionage.

Another signal of growing resentment against China is the failure thus far of the Organization for African Unity, now meeting in Ghana's capital of Accra, to devote much attention to the war in Vietnam.

FACTS SHEETS

8 November 1965

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Observer Delegations Which Attended the Winneba AAPSO Conference  
May, 1965

International Organizations

World Peace Council (WPC)  
Women International Democratic Federation (WIDF)  
World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY)  
International Union of Students (IUS)  
World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU)

Afro-Asian Organizations

Permanent Bureau for Afro-Asian Writers  
Afro-Asian Jurists Conference  
Afro-Asian Journalists Conference

Asian Organizations

Anti-Atomic and Hydrogen Bomb Council

African Organizations

Pan African Journalist Union  
All African Trade Union Federation  
All African News Agency Organization  
All African Radio and Television Union  
All African Women's Organization  
Ghana Peace Council  
The Accra Assembly  
Encyclopaedia Africana

Latin American Organizations

The Armed Front of National Liberation (Venezuela)  
The United Party of the Socialist Revolution of Cuba

Observers from Socialist Countries of Europe

Czechoslovakian Committee of Solidarity with the Nations of Africa  
and Asia  
The Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee (East Germany)  
League for Peace and Independence (Yugoslavia)  
Front of the Homeland and Committee for the Solidarity with the  
People of Africa and Asia (Poland)  
Albanian Committee of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity

AFRO-ASIAN-LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLES' SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE  
January 3 - 10, 1966  
Havana, Cuba

PRELIMINARY AGENDA

The Common Struggle of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America  
against Imperialism, Colonialism, and Neo-colonialism

1. Struggle for total national liberation, the right of self-determination, and consolidation of independence and national sovereignty in Africa, Asia, and Latin America against imperialist aggression, subversion and intervention in the affairs of independent nations, and imperialist isolation of peoples struggling for national independence.
2. Intensification of all forms of struggle, including armed struggle, of Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples against imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism, led by the US; methods to assist liberation movements, particularly armed struggle, in the three continents.
3. Support for the just struggle of the people of Cuba against the U.S. imperialists in defense of national sovereignty, support for the patriotic struggle of all Latin American peoples against U.S. imperialism and its instruments such as the O.A.S.
4. Struggle against discrimination and racism in all forms, including apartheid and racial segregation; support of the peoples of African descent in North America in their just struggle for equal rights and liberty.
5. Struggle for banning use, production, tests and stockpiling of nuclear weapons and for complete destruction of all existing nuclear weapons and all means of their production in favor of disarmament and world peace.
6. Struggle for removal of all foreign military bases in Africa, Asia and Latin America and action against the policy of military pacts.

Vital Issues in the Struggle against Imperialism of the Peoples of Africa,  
Asia and Latin America

1. Vietnam
2. Dominican Republic
3. Congo
4. Portuguese Colonies
5. Rhodesia



Solidarity among the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America in  
Economic, Social and Cultural Matters in the Struggle against Imperialism

1. The economic, social and cultural emancipation of the peoples of the three continents.
  - a. Principles of common action for achieving and consolidating economic liberation of the peoples of the three continents from the exploitation and aggression of imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism.
  - b. Measures for liquidation of economic, social, and cultural consequences of colonial domination.
  - c. Action against the imperialist policies of blockade and economic boycott against countries struggling for liberation or countries that have achieved independence.
  - d. Planning and mobilization of human and natural resources for economic development and true economic independence, formation of national cadres, agrarian reform.
2. Development of economic, social, and cultural relations
  - a. Economic and technical cooperation and aid among the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America based on equality and mutual interest.
  - b. Coordination and cooperation of the workers, students, women and cultural organizations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.
  - c. Development of a new economic policy between the countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America and the rest of the world, including economic, commercial and financial relations with the developed countries for our own development.
  - d. Elaboration of a common definition of peaceful coexistence for Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Political and Organizational Unification of the Common Struggle of  
the Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America for National Liberation  
and Economic Emancipation.

8 November 1965

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A P P E A L

FOR THE FIRST SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE  
OF PEOPLES OF AFRICA, ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA

(Havana, 3-10 Jan., 1966)

We, the representatives of anti-imperialist organizations, forming the Preparatory Committee for the First Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Conference, meeting in Cairo, September 1st and 2nd, 1965 have decided upon the invitation of the United Party of the Cuban Socialist Revolution, to convene this historic Conference in Havana from January 3 to 10, 1966.

Solidarity among the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America has long been a reality and the coming Conference can be regarded as the climax of a movement which has been gaining strength along with the development of the national liberation struggle throughout the three continents.

The global strategy of the imperialists who claim the right to rule the world constitutes a challenge to the peoples of the three continents. The concerted attacks launched against national independence, sovereignty, progress and peace as witnessed in the Dominican Republic, Vietnam, the Congo and Palestine and elsewhere are a clear evidence of this strategy.

That is why this Conference will be an appropriate action to counter this challenge.

The peoples of the three continents deeply realize the imperative character of the solidarity that should bind them and the need to co-ordinate their struggle against the common enemy, that is U.S. imperialism. The Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement has always felt this need. In spite of all imperialist intrigues attempting to isolate it from Latin America, the movement has worked relentlessly for the realization of our common aspirations. Likewise the liberation movements and the popular organizations of Latin America, have succeeded to break the "tete-a-tete" with imperialism.

There is a strong bond which binds the peoples of the three continents. They have all faced the same problems and the same dangers, namely oppression, exploitation, aggression and armed intervention.

The Preparatory Committee calls upon all peoples of the three continents to spare no effort for the success of the first Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The Conference will mark a new phase in the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and for complete national liberation, social progress and for world peace. When the U.S. imperialists attempted to invade Cuba, all the people of Africa, Asia and all peace and freedom loving peoples rose up against that barbaric act. The victorious Cuban Revolution, that put an end to the reactionary rule, and is continuously checking U.S. imperialism, is a guiding light and an example to the peoples of Latin America and of the

Cuba has shown that revolution is possible, even 90 miles from the coast of the U.S.A., that the people can carry out the revolution, and that no force in the world is capable of standing in the way of the people's movement for liberation.

The fact that our Conference is held in Havana during the 7th Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution, is in itself a tribute to the heroic people of Cuba.

As seen from the agenda adopted by the Preparatory Committee, the Havana Conference will be an opportunity for all popular anti-imperialist organizations, in Africa, Asia and Latin America to exchange views on their experiences in the struggle for liberation and reconstruction waged by our peoples. Our solidarity will emerge strengthened and our determination of common action would be enhanced.

We are living a decisive stage of our history; colonialism suffers its death throes under the blows of the liberation struggle of formerly enslaved peoples. As long as imperialism survives, the exploitation of peoples and men will continue.

Our peoples, exploited, humiliated, subjected to misery and condemned to stagnation for centuries, possess however immeasurable riches which have only served until now to provide welfare and opulence to imperialist exploiters and a handful of privileged persons. We are determined to put an end to this contradiction which has been the source of so much suffering to humanity, there is no greater force than the determination of the peoples to win their freedom and independence and to win peace.

Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America...Forward in the decisive battle against Imperialism, Colonialism, and Neo-Colonialism.

LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY AND UNITY OF AFRO-ASIAN-LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLES.

FACT SHEET

8 November 1965

Sixth Congress of the Communist Front World Federation of  
Trade Unions (WFTU), Warsaw, Poland, 8-22 October 1965

Attendance

Total: 512 delegates from about 90 to 98 countries purporting to represent anywhere from 159,000,000 to 165,000,000 trade union members\*

Representation of different areas of the world:

	delegates	countries
Europe	242	25
Africa and the Arab World	52	28
Americas	62	20
Asia and the Pacific	84	12

Balance of 70 odd delegates:

representatives of the WFTU Secretariat and the international federations of individual trade unions, invited guests

Groups to note:

Chinese delegation of 80, Soviet delegation of 40, 65 women, representatives of other international Communist front organizations (Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization, International Association of Democratic Lawyers, International Organization of Journalists, World Federation of Democratic Youth)

Newly Elected Officers

Secretariat

Secretary General: Louis Saillant (France)  
Deputy General Secretary: Pierre Gensous (France)  
Secretaries: Chen I (China)  
Edwin Chleboun (Czechoslovakia)  
Stana Dragoi (Rumania)

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\* WFTU officialdom is not consistent in the figures (countries, total membership) that it issues. In addition, the figures they cite for total membership are undoubtedly over-estimates.

Muhammad as-Said Muhammad \* (Sudan)  
Luis Padilla (Chile)  
Viktor Podzerko (USSR)  
Raul Silvestri (Italy)  
Setiati Surasto (Indonesia)

Executive Bureau

President: Renato Bitossi (Italy)  
Vice-Presidents: Benedicto Cerqueira (Brazil) \*\*  
S. A. Dange (India)  
Benoit Frachon (France)  
Viktor Grishin (USSR)  
Ignacy Loga-Sowinski (Poland)  
Mohamed Munir \* (Indonesia)  
Enrique Pastorino (Uruguay)  
Lazaro Pena Gonzales (Cuba)  
Shafi Ahmad ash-Shaykh (Sudan)  
Herbert K. W. Warnke (E. Germany)  
Frantisek Zupka (Czechoslovakia)

\* A change in men as of this Congress

\*\* A change in the man and the country as of this Congress

Excerpts from the WFTU Final Appeal (22 October)

Trade union unity -- translated isolation from all but one political view

"Unity is an essential requirement in our days particularly. It is forged every day in your action against the monopolies and for economic and social demands, for national liberation and peace. ...The capitalists alone benefit by the division of our ranks.

"Monopoly capitalism, using the powerful means open to the modern state, is increasing its pressure on the working class...

"Recent powerful struggles have revealed the community of demands of the workers of various countries. The workers feel a growing need for solidarity, better coordination, and stronger international unity for the defense of their vital interests against the economic policy of the monopolies, and for national independence and peace.

"...difficulties on the road to unity, created not only by the monopolies, but also by those who refuse to defend the vital interests of the workers and who persist in the cold war policy. ...unity of action...is growing steadily. ...trade union organizations with different affiliations today adopt very similar positions on trade union liberties and economic claims, the preservation of peace, and the eradication of colonialism. ...a new stage...

Current trade union interests weighted in favor of the political

"...We call upon [all workers], to form a united workers' front against the threat of a new world war which would inevitably be a thermonuclear war. Condemn and demand more emphatically an end to the American imperialists' criminal aggression in Vietnam...

"Reject with indignation the shameful boycott and the continued provocations against revolutionary Cuba.

"Demand the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the Dominican Republic and from all countries where these have taken up their position flouting the dignity and sovereignty of the people.

"...reinforce your unity and...offer your...solidarity to the struggle of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.-- in whatever form these peoples themselves decide -- for genuine national liberation and independence and against colonialism and neocolonialism, and against international imperialism headed by American imperialism which acts as an international gendarme.

"...West German imperialism is causing great anxiety, justified by history."

Excerpts from Secretary General Saillant's Report (8 October):  
A Program for WFTU "United Front" Action

CPYRGHT

"...a new and quicker method of achieving international trade union unity on five levels...

"...There is the development of trade union unilateral and multilateral relations among countries belonging to various economic and political zones. Trade unions of European Common Market countries should link such efforts with the conditions of the Europe of the monopolies and, at the same time, defending the direct interests of the working world and Europe's continental reality...

"...new bilateral relations between trade unions and national trade union boards of the same continent on which countries of different economic and social systems coexist but where a real need exists for guaranteeing peace, security and social progress...

"...new trade union relations of an intercontinental scale in order to hold common consultations and take action connected with common needs. African and European trade unions are aware of the need to give new form to mutual solidarity and fully respect each other's independence. The Afro-Asian trade union conference can begin a new phase in intercontinental trade union relations...

"...renewal and improvement of all initiatives by WFTU and international associations in order to create conditions for effective collaboration in specified spheres with trade unions, the International Labor Organization and UNESCO...

"...preparations of the extraordinary world conference of trade representatives of 205 millions of trade union members at a true roundtable of the international trade union movement, where everyone will bring his own program... the main purpose of which will be defense of peace, social progress, national sovereignty, and democratic freedoms."

Fact Sheet

8 November 1965

Excerpts from Speeches Define the Three Positions Within WFTU

Chicom

CPYRGHT

Albania, Komo Kocani, Tirana ATA International (13 October)

"...The concern of certain WFTU leaders to echo, even within our international trade union organization, the tactics of the Soviet revisionists who want to veil with anti-imperialism their line of cooperation with US imperialism, is clear for all to see...

"...publicity given to CEMA which, though built on correct principles, has been turned into an instrument to implement the chauvinistic big-state policy of the present Soviet revisionist leaders....Another question is the recommendation that the unions of socialist countries draw closer to the leadership of the Yugoslav trade unions which, in the sphere of the trade union movement, serve the pro-imperialist policy and splitting activity of the renegade Tito clique, that special diversionary hotbed of US imperialism."

Albania, Kimo Kocani, Tirana Domestic Service (16 October)

"...We [Albanians] had to overcome not only the difficulties inherited from the past but also the difficulties which were imposed on us in the new conditions...the hostile activity of the imperialists and the savage blockade of the Khrushchevite revisionists."

Communist China, Kang Yung-ho, NCNA (12 October)

"...certain persons try their utmost to impose an erroneous and diametrically opposite line on the international trade union movement. This is the general line of peaceful coexistence... This is how differences and controversies within the WFTU originated.

"...peaceful coexistence is the foreign policy of the socialist countries vis a vis different social systems...it is completely wrong to turn it into the fundamental or general line of the WFTU, because the WFTU is not a state organization but a mass organization of the working class.

"...The oppressed and exploited absolutely should not and could not peacefully coexist with the imperialists and monopoly capital.



CPYRGHT

"...[result] an entire series of erroneous positions and methods taken by WFTU on such questions as defense of world peace, solidarity with the national liberation movement, and the orientation of the workers' movement in the capitalist countries.

"...The most glaring example...the fraud of the tripartite treaty on a partial nuclear test ban....certain persons, disregarding strong opposition by the trade unions in China and other countries forced the WFTU to laud this fraud...They even openly made use of WFTU publications under their control to maliciously attack member organizations opposed to the treaty.

"...the report to the congress reaffirms in strong terms the erroneous position of the 13th WFTU General Council...In order to promote their erroneous line...these persons do their utmost to organizationally control the WFTU, demanding that it follow every diplomatic move of a certain country...They reject the principle of achieving unanimity through consultations...They discriminate against and attack at will organizations that hold opinions different from theirs...stop at nothing to undermine progressive trade union movements in certain countries and create splits. Does this not prove that when these persons speak of unity they speak falsely..."

Indonesia, Sugiri, NCNA (15 October)

"...Multifarious forms of tactic should be subordinated to the fundamental line which is anti-imperialist and which requires the implementation of class struggle.

"...we cannot find a clear analysis on the question of line and tactic/[in the WFTU program] in fostering unity, where the line of struggle decides tactic and where tactic serves this line. What is obvious is the existence of a line which is not clearly anti-imperialist..."

Soviet

Argentina, Rubens Iscaro, Paris AFP (11 October)

"Trade unions must not become centers of armed struggle. We must not forget the trade union nature of the WFTU. WFTU must seek unity with those whose thinking disagrees with it in order to get even closer to the masses."

Chile, Luis Padilla, Warsaw PAP International (11 October)

"...WFTU greets the establishment of the OAU as an important stage in the solidarity of people of the African continent...

"...cooperation among trade unions of the socialist, capitalist, and newly-developing countries on the basis of the common struggle against imperialist monopolies and their agents. Based on these principles, the WFTU decided to form a world trade union committee for consultation and united action against monopolies. At its last plenum, the committee decided to convene an international trade union conference to discuss the expansion of world trade in order to promote an equitable solution of and extend world trade without discrimination."

Cuba, Lazaro Pena, Warsaw PAP International (14 October)

"...Our Congress should confirm that they can also rely on the great force of international solidarity, on the friendship, assistance, and solidarity of the Soviet Union, the socialist camp, and working masses...

"...The solidarity conference of Asian, African, and Latin American countries to be held in Havana will be of great significance for the development of international solidarity [expecting WFTU support for this conference]..."

France, Louis Saillant, Warsaw Domestic Service (22 October)

"...This was not an ordinary congress. ...it provided an opportunity for many analyses...it became a place at which a trade union unity line has been worked out...

"...As a result...documents of great importance have emerged. Not all of them have been passed unanimously. ...we are bound by the principle of majority.

"...WFTU will now embark on unfolding activity in all directions...observing...the correct line which has gained the approval of the entire congress. ...a line of struggle against imperialism and battle for peaceful coexistence. The former is inseparable from the latter. Together they constitute the general line of the WFTU.

"...it is necessary to separate oneself from extremist stands, from sectarianism, which are not constructive and which do a great deal of harm."

Italy, Renato Bitossi, Warsaw PAP International (22 October)

"...From the congress platform opinions and theses, sometimes contradictory ones, were set forth. Everyone had the broadest possibility to express his opinion...

"...certain people have even abused this possibility and liberty without considering that there are certain limits to polemics which should not be overrun."

North Vietnam, Nguyen Minh, Warsaw PAP International (18 October)

"...WFTU can and should support policy of coexistence of the socialist countries, not treating it, however as the only possible way in the fight for peace." \*

North Vietnam, Hoang Quoc Viet, NCNA (13 October)

"The Soviet Union has furnished and will continue to furnish to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam any necessary aid to keep away the American aggression..." \*

Soviet Union, V.V. Grishin, Chairman, Moscow TRUD (12 October)

"...The experience of the class trade unions of France, Italy, Japan and other countries enrich the world trade union movement with new forms and methods of struggle. The road toward unity necessitates the patient and constructive search for mutually acceptable terms, the broadening of cooperation, and the development of joint action to defend the interests of the working people."

#### Italian

Italy, Luciano Lama, Warsaw PAP International (13 October)

"...The voting on the subject of CGIL remaining in the WFTU was not unanimous -- 25 comrades in favor -- 10 against. ...All feel the need for establishing closer, deep, strong ties with other trade union organizations in the capitalist, socialist, and newly liberated countries...where it does not affect the class aspects of their policy."

Poland, Ignacy Loga-Sowinski, Warsaw PAP International (15 October)

"...Each of our national organizations has and implements its own program. The WFTU program cannot be the sum of these programs. It is also not true that the present line of the WFTU reflects the position of one central trade union organization. It is almost certain that a different line introduced to the 6th Congress by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions will not be and cannot be the WFTU line in the future. The method of adopting

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\* A shift away from the Chicom position.

the line of any central trade union organization will lead us to nothing.

"...We should not block our road to unity because it weakens us. Comrade Krasucki from CGT and Comrade Lama from the CGIL gave us a beautiful example of creative and constructive discussion in their speeches...

"...too much eagerness among some delegates flattering faulty points of view and unjustified and irresponsible attacks against one or the other great federation, have done the worst service to the cause of unity...

"...Professional problems in the activity of WFTU international affiliations, in the cooperation with specialized trade unions, call for much more attention than previously..." \*\*

Poland, Ignacy Loga-Sowinski, Warsaw Domestic Service (8 October)

"...WFTU rejects the fatalistic idea about the inevitability of war. War can be prevented.

"The WFTU put forward two imperative principles required for implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence. ...non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries. ...complete freedom of choice by every nation of its political principles and system.

"...necessary for ICFTU to change its present methods of work. Also correct is the attitude of the WFTU which...does not treat the ICFTU as a uniform force of militant anti-communism or a tool of the cold war, since our view is that the membership of WFTU, the ICFTU and the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions cannot and should not constitute an obstacle for trade union cooperation..." \*\*

Rumania, Constantin Dragan, Bucharest Agerpres International (14 October)

"...Bearing in mind the importance of this WFTU Congress attended by all affiliated organizations, we consider that it would have been particularly apt and useful if the reports make a more thorough-going analysis of the concrete activity of the WFTU...and...executive bodies. This would enable a clearer view of the good results as well as shortcomings.

"...WFTU was engaged in some international actions without the approval of all the affiliated organizations. Majority vote

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\*\* Support for the Soviets against the Chicoms but also a shift toward the Italian section.

harms unity. ...[unanimity] To ensure fully equal rights of all trade union organizations. ...series of proposals can draw a great number of non-affiliated organizations and thus contribute to strengthening unity of action...on the international plane."

Yugoslavia, S. Vukmanovic, Tanyug International (19 October)

"...cooperation regardless of ideological orientation is the only way leading to the elimination of misunderstanding, to broad trade union cooperation, and to the formation of wide foundations for a new world trade union organization -- would primarily have to respect the right of every trade union independently to choose the forms of its activity. Each trade union also would independently decide in which actions to participate. ...no question of a majority and a minority...the difficulties now confronting the international trade union organization would be solved.